

[P. 33a]

755 feathers (so'nai or wada'm) to brush off the illness, and his talismans. Eagle-down strings were worn wrapped around the body. Special walaṭ, such as animal heads, were pressed against the patient's body and held up in different directions while the doctor prayed to the supernatural helper it represented. A powerful doctor was able to suck out sickness without making any incision.

When Poso'o was in the process of curing a person he never ate or drank, nor did he sleep. He would bathe, walk about in secluded places, and converse with his walaṭ or with some animal who would tell him what to do. A cure usually lasted two days: the first "call" was made in the evening, and was for the purpose of diagnosis. Then the shaman consulted his supernatural assistants, as above, and return to effect the cure at noon of the following day. It was then that he announced the cause of the sickness and fell to work with cutting, sucking, and brushing. If he were treating a wound which was dirty, he would blow on it, lick it thoroughly, and spit onto a tray (tsa'p'il) covered with sand. Sand, saliva, etc., were dumped on a fire.

A doctor of standing had an assistant (aṇuṭun winatum) who looked after his paraphernalia, prepared the medicines if any were to be administered, dressed the shaman in his ceremonial costume and painted his face, and removed the sickness, which was squeezed or spat onto a tray. The doctor's winatum, like the chief's, had Dove as his family totem.

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[428] A doctor's paraphernalia were burned on his death; they were not inherited even though the man had a son who was a shaman. Neither was there inheritance of his ritual methods. A shaman would probably have one son who would be a doctor: it was somewhat expected, but there "was no rule about it" and it "all depended on his dreams."

A family in need of a doctor would get together what they hoped would be a sufficient sum and send it to him with a request for his aid. The doctor did not have to accept; but if he wanted more money he would not demand it then but would wait until later on, when curing was under way. The mercenary attitude of shamans was emphasized as usual by J.A.

If a doctor did not want to cure a person until all his money was gone, he'd let him stay sick. If he didn't get enough money he'd let the patient die.

754 [A bad doctor might shoot a white feather into you; only he could remove it. An evil chief would pay a doctor to affect an enemy with sickness which he would not cure.⁶⁰ When a tiya was jealous he had a doctor do his killing for him. Any doctor could work for any tiya.]

⁶⁰See Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans.

[P 80a] Wukchumni

321 Deer bone awls (poa''uk, M.L.; ap''up, M.P.)
412 were wanted by all women who made baskets and, as there was no tabu on their use for any convenient purpose, others owned them as well. About three sizes were wanted, ranging from 3 to 6 inches.³⁹⁴ They were made by men from deer fibulae (see pl. 1, floor center).

324 An assortment of obsidian blades, also
412 made by and bought from men, was wanted for cutting meat, scraping foodstuffs and basketry materials, and cutting hide.

428 Women came by these possessions in a variety of ways. When a boy's family approached a girl's family with betrothal gifts, a burden basket was frequently included as this was an object of value and a type which a young girl could not make for herself. By the time she was betrothed, however, a girl usually had already made herself smaller twined and coiled ware of the seed-beater, winnowing tray, and sieve types. Her mother or aunts (of either side of family) would make her additional baskets, particularly the twined cooking basket.
428 Girls or women inherited from their mothers many of these household utensils; but it was said that "there weren't so many of these" (M.L.) by the time a few things had been put with the corpse and the rest were divided between daughters and claimed by the mother's sisters. Again it was impossible to formulate a rule whereby these objects were gotten or inherited. Women bought utensils and tools from each other and also from men. A woman's husband was expected to supply her with meat and skins. The latter included deerakin for the dress apron and, if the man were a poor hunter and could not procure them himself, he might even buy the deerhoofs used as a decorative fringe on the apron.
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Medicines

757 The two plants used for poisoning fish
278 (yaoha and tadad) were also used medicinally. The first, for chills or headache, was mashed in a poultice; the second was boiled for use as a steam bath for chills or to soothe the vaginal tract after childbirth.³⁹⁵ Neither plant was actively poisonous as fish stupefied by them did not need any special treatment before being eaten.

Black paint (ka'di'n) was mixed with grease as a salve. It was applied to sore

³⁹⁴Thirteen awls collected by Dr. Barrett from Michahai, Choinimni, and Chukchansi territory, now in the University of California, Museum of Anthropology, range in size from 3 inches (1-10839) to 7 inches (1-3997). Three unfinished awls from Drum Valley (probably Chukchansi or Michahai) are 5 3/8, 5 1/2, and 7 3/4 inches (1-10850, 1-10838, 1-10837).

[17] ³⁹⁵The Minck used vinegar weed (*Trichostema lanceolatum* Benth.) as a steam treatment for "uterine trouble" (Barrett and Gifford, 174).

EP. 160 a) Kechayi

726 Now some Monachi [Eastern Mono] had come
 648 over the mountains: their chief had told them
 252 to "go over and kill those people like birds." While the Yokuts men were away, the Monachi surrounded the women's camp. One man came closer to spy. He saw the women cracking the acorns with their teeth and thought they were eating. He went back and reported this several times he came close to spy and each time saw the women putting the nuts to their mouths: he "thought they just ate all day long."

726 Next morning the Yokuts men went out very
 648 early to knock down more acorns. They found a series of stakes, with feather bunches (so n:l) tied to their tops, which had been set up by the Monachi.⁴⁸ They knew the Monachi were near by, so they returned to camp and sent the women off. The women fled across the river (San Joaquin), leaving everything behind. The men went in pursuit of the Monachi. Their camp was located, and the Monachi were found asleep. Rushing in, the Yokuts killed all of them, save one man who smeared himself with his comrades' blood and pretended he was dead. Later on this man went back to his village and reported events to his chief. The chief was very angry; he determined on revenge.

Soon after that a Yokuts was working for a white man and was sent up into the mountains with some hogs. Some Monachi lurking about on this side of the ridge saw him; they came down to him and asked him who he was. When it was time for the Yokuts man to return to the valley, his employer warned him not to make the trip alone. But the man was anxious to get back home and went anyway. The Monachi were ambushed along the way and killed the man and his horse.

423 There was no mark of ownership on land or trees or seed-areas, but a woman would verbally designate certain trees or grass spots as hers and would "growl" if some other woman took the products therefrom ahead of her. Her complaints would be on the personal level, and would not be taken to the chief under ordinary circumstances. Sometimes arguments between women did grow into family feuds, which the chief attempted to control by counsel. There was a tacit, traditional ownership among families, and in the larger sense among tribes, of desirable land and its concomitant hunting, fishing, and seed-gathering assets. The family "ownership" operated to the extent that a young married woman continued to gather vegetable products with her own mother, rather than with her mother-in-law. This was regardless of matrilineal or patrilineal residence, and surely led to inheritance of such plots, even though inheritance was not defined in set terms by any Yokuts people.

619 It is clear from the account given above,
 222 that people from several tribes might be camped

⁴⁸The exact nature of these E.M. could not define: they may be such stakes as those the Tachi informant, M.G., had in mind when she described boundary markers (see Tachi, Pt. I).

[P. 196 a] Chuckchawsi

591 young man's family. Even after children were born, they would still live in a family home, not their own.

585 When people married there was no ceremony, said J.R., but qualified it with the amendment that sometimes they [which family, both ?] gave a little feast for which deer meat was especially obtained.

582 Some people married within the tribe, some outside, N.W. said. No couple who considered themselves related would marry. Bonds of relationship were equally strong on paternal and maternal sides of a family; the father knew who his relatives were, the mother hers, and prevented their offspring from making mistaken alliances. N.W. categorically stated that relatives never eloped, nor did a girl ever get married "by herself," i.e., without the ramifications of family consent and gifts from the suitor's family.

178 Today the young people have marriage connections with relatives that would not have been countenanced in the past (first, second, and third cousin marriage, probably. -- A.H.C.I., and often a girl gets married "by herself" without the consent of her family.

582 Moieties, Eagle and Coyote, regulated marriage for the Chukchansi and for the tribes [616] at Priant, said J.R. The levirate was not [587] practiced, he thought; he never knew any man who married his dead brother's wife: "they didn't do that."

586 The informant N.W. stated that there was no divorce, but instantly contradicted herself saying, "If a man is good, and stays with his wife, they stay together always. If they are bad, and want to go away, they don't live together. They can both marry someone else. That was all right." Stepchildren were thought to belong to the second union, not to the first; the spouse who runs away leaves the children behind. If a parent of a stepchild returned and claimed him, the child might recognize the legitimate parent as such and go with him. (This appears to be on the volition of the child rather than on that of either of its biological parents.) When a deserted woman remarried, her children by her first husband behaved toward their stepfather as they would to their actual father.

● 428 A widow did not inherit her husband's possessions: his things were divided among his children.

606 Parent-in-law tabu.--A man never speaks to his mother-in-law, said J.R., or a girl to her father-in-law. If it is absolutely necessary that they converse, a plural form is used. With a parent-in-law of the same sex, speech is permissible but restrained, i.e., conversation is confined to only such speech as is necessary.

CP. 197b] Chuck K. H. W. 1

765 of a hot coal stick.¹²⁷ They also put pine
 302 pitch on their cheeks:¹²⁸ a little near the
 nose for temporary grief, larger amounts for
 greater mourning, and a deeply devoted woman
 kept a bit in front of each ear for the rest of
 her life. A mixture of charcoal and water was
 put on the face about every two weeks during
 the year of mourning by those excessively
 grieved. These indulgences were by women; men
 did not observe mourning with these symbols.
 [534] They evidenced grief by playing the musical
 bow, says Kroeber.¹²⁹ Either sex had any
 765 special mourning garb, or were clothes torn or
 bodies mutilated.

During the period of mourning, between the
 time of death and the next annual mourning
 ceremony, the bereaved relatives did not parti-
 cipate in any ceremonies or festivities. If
 they attended at all, they came as unobtrusive
 onlookers.

768 Inheritance of such possessions as were
 428 not deposited with the dead was from parent to
 child: a wife did not inherit her husband's
 possessions. They were divided equally among
 his children without regard to age or status.

761 Omens of death.---Several items which may
 787 be classed as omens were mentioned in course by
 the informants N.W. and J.R. as follows.

825 When a dog chokes on something and wheezes,
 someone in the family, probably the dog's owner,
 is dying.

If a fox howls at dusk, just before sun-
 down, a woman is dying. This omen is still re-
 garded as true. J.R. had a more elaborate
 rendering of this belief. He said news of a
 distant death was portended by the barking of
 a fox at sundown. Perhaps in a certain village,
 it would be known that someone in another vil-
 lage five or six miles away was very ill. When
 the fox barked, it was realized that the person
 was dead or would be dead before morning.
 Probably the very next day a messenger would
 come announcing the death, and people would
 dress up and go over to mourn. These foxes,
 which are not uncommon in the locality, are
 shy and never seen in the daytime. Just how
 they learned the esoteric news which they
 signaled, J.R. could not explain.

When the "billy-owl" (brown owl) hoots at
 night, it is telling that someone is dying and
 even says who it is.

A coyote will howl whenever someone dies,
 but this omen is not infallible at night, "be-
 cause at night they usually howl anyway."

A pestle should not be left in a mortar
 hole. If a woman leaves one there, her brother,
 or even her son, will be killed: "some enemy
 might cut them up or something."

A modern belief is that if a rooster crows
 at midnight "someone is being cut up." This
 omen is so disliked that the offending fowl is

¹²⁷Kroeber states that the singeing was controlled "with
 a natural comb of tumbu, which has close-set parallel
 branches" (Handbook, 519).

¹²⁸Mentioned also by Kroeber (ibid., 500).

¹²⁹Ibid., 542.

WEATHER SHAMANS.

756 The weather doctor chiefly brought on rain, perhaps when it was
789 needed, more often, it appears, like Samuel before the people, to prove
his power. Again the national inclination toward public recognition
of shamanistic displays is manifest. The famous Hopodno at Tejon,
who was half Yauelmani and half Shoshonean Kawaiisu, staked the
rain in a game, and when he lost promptly delivered it to the winners.

[778] The Chukchansi mention only blowing and the dipping of fingers
into water as means of making rain; but the Tachi and southern
tribes describe cylindrical stones, 6 to 8 inches long, pointed at one
end, as the necessary apparatus. Moistened or dipped a little into
water, the amulet produced a shower; but if the doctor was angered,
he plunged the whole stone in and a violent storm followed. These
objects, which suggest the well-known "charm stones" of the Cali-
[428] fornia archaeologist, but were probably a distinct though similar
type, were inherited from father to son; and the Tachi go so far as
to say that the theft of his amulet would deprive the owner of his
power. Spirits are nowhere mentioned directly in connection with
the rain-making faculty.

513 their neighbors raised their sleeping places on a low frame of willow poles.¹⁰

221 The settlements to the west apparently suffered from lack of water
[312] and during the summer and fall dry season residents in those villages
361 commonly moved to the vicinity of the lake. Gayton says: "On the west
[137] side was a comparatively barren area, almost treeless and waterless,
practically uninhabited, used little save for rabbit drives. . ."¹¹ In con-
trast, the residents of permanent villages on the lake frequently left
during the summer to gather seeds and to hunt. Apparently they usual-
ly went eastward, if they traveled any distance, and in part collected on
lands used by some of their eastern neighbors.

824 The economy of the Tachi was dominated by the resources of the
[501] lake and its tributary sloughs. The tule provided essential materials
for house construction and for the making of balsas which were essen-
tial for the exploitation of many of the lake resources and were used
extensively in transportation as far away as the east side of the San
262 Joaquin Valley. Tule roots and seeds provided a major part of the
824 vegetable food, and the *Tular* harbored small animals and the tule elk.
The major subsidiary vegetable foods apparently were the bulbs of
the brodiaea, easily obtainable in quantity in sandy spots, and grass
[423] seeds. In part, the latter were obtained from marked plots owned by
• [428] particular women and inherited by their daughters, a sister, or other
439 female sociological relative. Acorns are rarely mentioned and when
obtained were apparently either secured by visits to the territory of
other groups or were obtained in trade. The Choinimni to the east are
especially mentioned as floating down the Kings Rivers on balsas to
exploit the lake resources and to bring acorns and other materials in
trade.

136 The river mussel (*Anodonta nuttalliana* Lea) probably was the
262 most important source of animal protein. Other less abundant mollusks
823 were utilized and fish were fairly important in the diet. The terrapin
(*Clemmys marmorata*) and waterfowl were important resources.

136 In contrast land mammals apparently were not abundant. The
[224] largest, the tule elk, was snared or speared in the tule swamps but
apparently seldom was attacked on dry land. During most of the year,
the area offered little food for grazing animals such as the antelope.
[439] Even rabbits seem not to have been abundant, for the Tachi apparently

¹⁰ GAYTON, 1948, p. 13.

¹¹ GAYTON, 1948, p. 6.